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metics are used except that at the carnival talcum powder may be put on the face.

Two generations ago the prevailing woman's costume in Tepoztlán was of another sort, a sort which included more aboriginal elements. This costume still survives in Tepoztlán, where two or three old women still wear it; there are probably others in the neighboring hamlets. It consisted of two principal garments: a skirt (N. *pitzcueitl*), of homespun, white above the hip and black below, where it was pleated; and a white triangle of similar homespun worn over the head like a *poncho* with one corner hanging down the back. This latter garment is the *quechquemitl*. It is a probably indigenous garment worn by Indian women in Central and Northern Mexico.

These two garments were made locally on primitive looms. Today all textiles are imported either as ready-made garments or as cloth to make up into clothing, except some of the women's belts which are still made locally.

The children's clothing reproduces that of the adults.

The aboriginal transportation system and that introduced by the Spaniards exist side by side in Tepoztlán, as they do nearly everywhere in Mexico. *Burros*, mules, horses, and oxen, with the accompanying paraphernalia—saddles, bridles, lassos, yokes—are used in patterns substantially those of sixteenth-century Spain. Only the wheel is not used in Tepoztlán, because the steepness and rockiness of the roads make its use impossible.

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184 137 342 Therefore the flora is different; and furthermore the soil is not suitable for *adobe*, so that most of the houses are of cane, straw, or wattle.

438 Differences in altitude and in aridity produce differences in the sorts of natural products of these eight villages; thus it comes about that villages have agricultural and economic specialties. San Juanico furnishes [278] *tejocotes* (*manzanillas*), and a variety of medicinal herbs which grow only at a high altitude. San [317] Andres, situated on a limestone ridge, contributes the [252] lime, burned in its kilns, in which all maize is cooked. Santiago is a warmer and better-watered village than the others, and its inhabitants supply tomatoes, sugar cane, and sapotes. The people of Ixcatepec specialize in honey, and those of arid Santa Catarina often bring acacia pods (S. *guajes;* N. *huexi*).

443 This economic specialization facilitates exchange at the bi-weekly market. Every Wednesday and every Sunday morning fifty to a hundred vendors gather in the central *plaza* of Tepoztlán. Some of these are from [439] Tepoztlán itself, some from the tributary hamlets, and a few from villages outside the community. The merchant simply squats on his heels on the *plaza*, or under the *portales* in front of the permanent shops, or he may sit on a stone, displaying his wares in little piles. For the privilege of occupying such a space the [651] municipal government exacts a "floor tax" (*derecho de piso*). The positions taken by the merchants do not vary substantially from week to week, nor, indeed, from generation to generation; those from each sur-

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438 wood, are drawn together by their common occupa-
476 tion. More marked is the part played by the twisting
621 of ropes of maguey fiber among the inhabitants of
372 San Sebastian. This industry, introduced a generation
283 ago by an emigrant to Tepoztlán, has spread to few
houses outside of the *barrio* in which he settled; but in
San Sebastian almost every household is so occupied,
439 and when there is an important fair in some larger
town in the state, the men of San Sebastian will go
there almost in a body to market their lassos and
riatas.

184 The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cul-
621 tures, or, what is the same thing, different personal-
829 ities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are
recognized by the Tepoztecos themselves, and at least
the more reflective of them can express the differences
they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized
barrio, and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly con-
scious of national feeling). Their chapel is decorated
with Mexican flags; a modern orchestra was organized
here, etc. Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catho-
lic, exclusive, and independent—"Santa Cruz governs
itself like a little republic." San Pedro is a *barrio* of
poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked ex-
tent ancient mentality and resent the presence of out-
siders in their midst, etc.

103 The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an
621 expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*.
829 These names are in Nahuatl and are in every case the
names of animals. The names are:

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ly the pre-Columbian economic pattern. Only now the market days fall on days of the European week rather than on fixed days in the Aztec *tonalamatl*. In Tepoztlán, markets are held on Wednesday and Sunday. Larger towns have daily markets, with special days for more important gatherings. In Cuernavaca, these days are Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday; in Cuautla, Friday is an important day; in Tautepec, one such day is Monday. Thus those who live by trade can make the rounds of the markets. A vendor of pottery in Tepoztlán on Wednesday goes regularly to Cuernavaca on Thursday. There he buys more pottery to sell on Friday in Cuautla. On Saturday he is back in Cuernavaca, where he buys fruit. On Sunday or Monday he is in Toluca where he sells his fruit and buys Toluca pottery. This he offers on Tuesday in Cuernavaca, and on Wednesday he is again selling Cuernavaca pottery and what is left of his Toluca ware in Tepoztlán.

Mexican towns are essentially markets; characteristically the only industry is household industry, and agriculture usually accomplishes little more than the support of the community. Everywhere the *plaza* dominates the town; the only large buildings are there; it is the center of social life. Even in unimportant towns like Tepoztlán the two market days break the week into two periods of lull separated by two days of special interest and attention. On these days the Tepoztecans come to the *plaza* to exchange not only goods but information. Besides the regular

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merchants of Tepoztlán and of the satellite villages there come regularly textile sellers from Mexico City and pottery vendors from Cuernavaca, as well as occasional wandering merchants from other and more distant towns.[1] The market day is also a news day.

The importance of Sunday probably varies directly in proportion to the degree to which the individual has taken on city ways. It is not an Indian institution, and in busy season at least *los tontos* do not observe it as a day of rest. But characteristically all classes put on their best clothes on Sunday. When the priest is there the more Catholic may attend mass in the *Templo Mayor*. Sometimes, the "new orchestra" may play in the little bandstand in the *plaza*. Such sophisticated refinements are promoted by the more city-wise minority—*los correctos*.

Like all the simpler peoples, whose food and whose occupations are directly dependent upon seasonal changes, the Tepoztecans are closely attentive to the

[1] There follows a list, not quite complete, of goods sold in the regular bi-weekly markets. Of course the limitation "in season" applies to many of the fruits: (1) Produced in Tepoztlán or the satellite villages: oranges; bananas; *chayotes; manzanillos* (*tejocotes*); limes; lemons (rare); avocados; plums; chirimoyas; mameys; sapotes (four or five kinds); tomatoes; husk tomatoes; sugar cane; *pitos;* acacia pods (*guajes*, N. *guaxi*); peanuts; tamarind beans; coffee; squash seeds; acacia seeds; beans (several kinds); maize; coriander; *manzanillo* jelly; clotted cream; honey; pine kindling; lime; eggs; medicinal herbs. (2) Produced outside the valley: potatoes, onions, and rarely other vegetables, from Cuernavaca; occasional vegetables, as beets, carrots, lettuce, rosemary, small squashes, from Xochimilco, Federal District; pottery from Cuernavaca, from Toluca, and from the state of Puebla; baskets from southern Morelos; leather thongs for sandals and fiber nets (*ayates*) from Cuautla; zarapes and mats, from Toluca and elsewhere; lima beans and such spices as *pimienta*, cloves, and cumin seed, from Mexico City; textiles and notions from Mexico City. Other supplies, and also some that are on these lists, are bought in the stores.

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the afternoon) she brings the clothes. Candles are lit before the *crèche* and burning copal is set before it. The godfather brings rockets, and often a bottle of wine. The rockets are discharged outside the house while the godmother dresses the image. Everyone is given a drink of wine. The image is placed on a tray and passed around for everyone to kiss. Then follows the dinner traditional for birthdays and *sacamisas:* rice, *mole poblano*, and beans.

February 5.—Today is the anniversary of the signing of the constitution. But this is a national patriotic *fiesta* and of little importance in Tepoztlán. The schoolmaster discharges his obligation toward the school children by parading them with flags and perhaps making to them a patriotic speech. There may be music by some orchestra from the valley in the kiosk in the *plaza*. But most people in Tepoztlán have no notion of what day it is, and observe it not at all.

The dry season is now well advanced. The foliage has lost much of its brilliance, and the silk-cotton trees have shed all their leaves. The paths and streets are thick with dust now, and the pigs gather around the public washing stones where puddles of water may still be found. Occasionally great winds enter the valley and rage around the high-walled basin, clouding the contours of the hills and pulling tiles from off roofs. Then people stay in their houses and shut the doors to protect themselves from the dust.

There is nothing to be done in the *milpas*. The coffee is all picked and dried. There are some who

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will buy up their neighbor's coffee and carry it to Cuernavaca for resale. Many men, having no other work and no savings, have gone to the sugar *haciendas* at Oacalco to work there as day laborers.[1] They do not take their women with them. Sometimes a woman cooks for them all in the camp at the *hacienda*. Sometimes they come back twice a week to Tepoztlán to fetch food prepared for them by their wives. Then twice a week the women spend hours by day and by night grinding on the *metate* to make them enough *tortillas* and *itacates* and *gorditas* to last them three days at Oacalco.

The entire village has its attention directed toward the coming carnival—the most important secular *fiesta* of the valley. Almost everyone in Tepoztlán has some share in it, while those who come to Tepoztlán from other villages come only as guests to enjoy the hospitality of Tepoztlán. The carnival is the supreme co-operative effort of the town. In February the men of San Miguel, La Santísima,[2] and Santo Domingo are organizing the *comparsas* for the masked dancers. Musicians must be hired from larger towns, and the cost of their hire is now apportioned among the members of the *comparsas*. These members, who will leap as *Chinelos* during the carnival, are busy sewing glass beads and mirrors on the huge, laterally flattened *sombreros* which they will wear. Their wives and mothers

[1] This exodus began the second half of December.

[2] The *comparsa* of La Santísima was first organized about three years ago; the other two groups are ancient.

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527 535 are sewing them new gowns, or refurbishing the old ones. The members of that family, whose traditional [532] task it is to make the masks worn by the *Chinelos*, are busy cleaning and curling horsehair and fastening it to the wire frames.

527 443 438 439 Many who will not leap as *Chinelos* are preparing to sell homemade cakes in booths. Others are arranging to bring some pulque down from the plateau, some to go to Cuernavaca for ice to make flavored ices, some to cook *pozole* in great *ollas* in the *plaza*. Some are buying combs and beads and handkerchiefs in Mexico City to sell at the carnival. The carnival is the supreme economic effort of Tepoztlán; it is an opportunity to make money and to spend it.

527 *February 28, March 1 and 2 (about).*—The carnival is celebrated during the two week-ends preceding Lent. There are six days of carnival: Saturday, Sunday, and Monday of the first week-end, and the corresponding three days a week later (the *octava*). During these days there are covered booths on two sides [265 541] of the *plaza* with benches and tables where ices and bottled drinks are sold. In the morning there are cockfights in the *plaza*.

527 535 At just three o'clock in the afternoon a gunpowder mortar is discharged at the house of the president of the *comparsa* where the *Chinelos* are gathered. At this [533] signal the band, which each *comparsa* has hired, begins to play the "leaping" music (the drum accenting very markedly the first of each triplet).

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of booths at which are being sold fruit, cakes, notions, ices, drinks, green corn.[1] People have come from distant *pueblos* to sell the products of their domestic industry—little painted clay toys and whistles. At the gateway to the churchyard one may buy wax candles for the *santo*.

The *chirimía* is playing at the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo;* this is set off the evening of the first day.

May 9–15.—The remainder of the week is devoted to secular entertainment: cockfights, horse races, and three days of *toros*.

June 11.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of La Santísima and with it plays the *teponaztli* owned by that *barrio*.

June 12.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of La Santísima. It is not an important *fiesta*. The people of the *barrio* eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

Now the rains have come. Every afternoon the clouds gather over the rim of the valley and the hills are hidden in a low roof of mist. The slopes run with cascades and jets of rain. The air is wet and soft. The ground, long dry and barren, is covered with bright green, and every cranny in the rocks has its unrolling fern.

The rains are brought by the *ahuahque*,[2] "the lords of the rain." They hurl the thunderbolts; the stone beads and spindle whorls one picks up were thrown by

[1] Brought from lower altitudes where it is already ripe.

[2] The *ahuahque* are also referred to as *tlatlatcuapone*, "those who thunder," and as *tlapetani*, "those who cause lightning."

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821 776 [172] [301] them from the sky. They covet gold; now that the rains have begun and the voices of the *ahuahque* are frequently heard, women who most fear them take off their gold earrings for fear that the *ahuahque* might strike them dead so as to take the jewels.

243 [221] People are busy now, and contented. There is work for all the men in the *milpas*. The ground is prepared with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very stony earth there are a few steel plowshares. Oxen, less commonly horses or mules, draw the plow. By now the [231] corn is a foot high up at San Juan, but in Tepoztlán a hotter sun demands that the maize be planted after the rains have come. By the middle of June most of the *milpas* are planted. At San Juan the grain is [184] dropped into holes made with a pointed stick. In Tepoztlán it is dribbled along in furrows; afterward the earth is heaped up around the young plant with the *coa*, the flat hoe with a curved blade.

*796 [533] *June 15.*—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the Templo Mayor because tomorrow is the *fiesta* of Corpus Christi.

In May or June.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of Corpus Christi, *Jueves de corpos*. Some go to Yautepec or to Cuernavaca to buy little *burros* made of [439] [484] straw bearing crates of fruits and sweets.

July 22.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the hamlet [776] of Amatlán. (This is the saint day of Mary Magdalene, patron of this village.)

July 25.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the village [535] of Santiago. *Los Apaches* dance at both these *fiestas*.

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243 [438] [435] scoops, paying perhaps eight or nine *centavos* a *cuartillo*.

By the third week in December the fields below the [221] town are still and empty. The last loads carried by [244] the *burros* are of round green squashes, grown among the corn. Into some fields the cattle are turned to [231] forage. Above the town, where the fields ripen later, the harvesting continues, but the work is on the wane. There is time to rest now, and enjoy the Christmas *796 [177] *fiestas*. Preparations are under way. In many houses, particularly in those nearest the *plaza*, where Spanish influence is strongest and where there may be a little money to spend, the nine *posadas* are celebrated as they are celebrated all over Mexico. By this time the matrons of the neighborhood have arranged in whose house will take place each of the nine *fiestas*. Nine women will take turns as hostess, dividing the responsibility and the expense. Someone has gone to [439] [484] Oacalco for sugar cane, to Yautepec for peanuts. The women are making little paper baskets (*alcartazes*) to hold candies and peanuts.

[868] [533] It is not in one of the larger houses near the *plaza* that boys are learning to sing the songs of *Los Pastores*. In the yard of a smaller, more Indian house in some street off the *plaza* a score or more of boys are seated on the ground learning the songs from a *maestro* who is the repository of this local tradition.

[794] [782] [439] The *mayordomos*, with their assistants, decorate the chapels with flowers and cedar boughs and colored tissue paper. People cut branches of poinsettia, now

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very abundant, and bring them to Mexico City for sale. [796* 439]

December 16.—The first of the *posadas* takes place on this date. At dusk the flare and boom of rockets make known the houses where the *fiestas* will be celebrated. Little groups of youths and men drift to the wall, to laugh and whisper and stare over the wall. The first part of the *fiesta* is religious, and it is not good form for men outside the family to take part. Behind the wall Mary and Joseph seek a lodging for the night. A candle-lit procession, bearing on a litter small wax and paper figures of the Holy Family, waits outside the door. The ritual dialogue is repeated; the wayfarers, begging admittance, are challenged from within. It is all done gravely and with feeling; no one relaxes his serious attention. At last the door opens; the procession passes into the house. As the candles pass one by one into the house the yard darkens while the glow now streams out of the cracks in the door. The men move closer to the door. [541]

Inside the matron of the house leads the prayers and responses. The images are placed behind candles, as at an altar. All the women remain kneeling, repeating the prayers. Suddenly the prayers cease, to give way to the gay *piñata* song. [782] [533]

The ritual of worship ends; the ritual of play begins. The door opens; some of the men go in. The mistress of the house distributes the *alcartazes*. Everyone is given a handful of sugar-cane joints, another of *tejocotes*, another of peanuts. The party goes out again [262]

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Two teachers, a young man and a young woman: Both are natives, of distinctly *correcto* families, and both were educated in the city. Both wear city clothes all the time and have no other specialty but teaching.

The priest should be mentioned, although during the period of investigation there was no priest officiating in Tepoztlán, as there was not elsewhere in Mexico. He was a man of *correcto* family, well educated in the city.

Five storekeepers: These are men of some capital. They have small shops on the *plaza*. On the whole they devote their time to trade. Each makes frequent trips to Mexico City to buy goods. Most become tradespeople on a small scale or minor commercial employees in Mexico City during the revolution; it does not appear that any one of them inherited the business. Besides these five storekeepers there are two young men who flavor and charge water and bottle the result for local sale. These men have considerable communication with the city.

Two corn-factors: These men buy the locally produced surplus maize, arrange for its shipment to Mexico City, and there sell it wholesale.

Three butchers: Their shops are on the *plaza*. The meat is butchered locally.

Two shoemakers: One, a cripple, learned his trade from an earlier shoemaker in Tepoztlán; the other learned it in Mexico City.

Three carpenters: One man has a shop on the *plaza;* the others work in their homes. Tools are simple and few, all of European pattern. These men make furniture, doors, and candlesticks for the churches, also coffins and saddles. Information is lacking as to where each learned his trade.

Four masons: These men lay brick floors, and build walls and water tanks, occasional columns and porticoes on the better

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463 houses of *adobe* or stone covered with *mezcla*.[1] The tools are European, except the *coa*,[2] the old agricultural hoe which masons [333] sometimes use to mix *mezcla*. The cost of bringing in cement [342] practically eliminates concrete work. One mason learned his trade in Mexico City, another in Tepoztlán, and a third from a North American railway engineer who employed him as a common laborer to assist in building culverts on the railway near El Parque.

[321] Two ironworkers: These men make *machetes* and incidental ironwork. Information is lacking as to their history.

[252] Six bakers: In the case of two, the trade was learned in a larger city; information is lacking on the others. Each does his baking in a domed *adobe* oven of early Spanish pattern, built in [439] his own houseyard. Wheat flour is imported from the city. Wild [252] yeast is used. The dough is put into the oven on wooden paddles. [369] Many of the special types of bread recognized in the cities are made here too.

[326] Silversmiths: Although these specialists are referred to by this name [*plateros*], and although they do occasional work in silver,[3] they are the odd-job men of Tepoztlán. Each operates a small homemade forge, and is equipped with workbench, vises, punches, soldering implements, etc. They do construction and repair work in metal; repair watches, phonographs, and what little other machinery there is in Tepoztlán. One picked up most of his knowledge while in Mexico City.

[305] Five barbers: This occupation is distinctly an occasional one. The equipment is no more than a razor and shears.

[533] An indeterminable number of musicians. Many men—women rarely—play musical instruments. Sometimes permanent organi-

[1] A mixture of lime and sand.

[2] Already described on p. 50.

[3] Usually silver ritualistic paraphernalia for the church.

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MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Tepoztlán has relatively good means of communication. It has a railroad, a modern highway, bus service, mail service, and one telephone. As we have seen earlier, the railroad was built about 1900. The building of the railroad was particularly significant, for it encouraged the commercial exploitation of certain natural resources on a scale formerly impossible. The railroad is used primarily for the transportation of wood and charcoal to Mexico City.

In 1936 the asphalt road connecting Tepoztlán with the Mexico City–Cuernavaca Highway was completed, and shortly thereafter a bus cooperative was organized.[40] The line was successful and expanded. At present there are two bus lines to Cuernavaca, both owned and operated by Tepoztecans and in bitter competition with each other. In 1944 each line operated four buses which ran every hour from seven in the morning to seven at night, seven days a week. The round-trip fare to Cuernavaca was 90 centavos. Both lines carried more than 1,600 Tepoztecan passengers to Cuernavaca and back each week. Four days a week there was an average of 175 passengers. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, the market days in Cuernavaca, there was an average of 300 a day, and 300 to 400 on Sundays.

Before the construction of the road, communication between Tepoztlán and surrounding regions was primarily by burro and by foot. The most frequent trading and social contacts were with Yautepec, about three hours' distance, and with Cuernavaca, about four hours' distance. Since the road has been built it takes about forty-five minutes to Cuernavaca by bus and about twenty minutes by private car. Since the coming of the road, Cuernavaca has replaced Yautepec in importance. This shift is significant because the greater cultural sophistication of Cuernavaca has accelerated the rate of change in Tepoztlán. The road has had many other far-reaching effects which will be discussed later.

Tepoztlán has had mail service since 1926, and mail is delivered daily. Redfield reported in 1926 that there was an average of about twelve letters a day, most of which were for families living in the center. In 1944 there were about thirty letters daily. This increase was relatively small considering the great increase in literacy, trade, and population.

Tepoztlán has had a telephone and telegraph since before the Revolution, but the lines have rarely functioned. In the early thirties the telephone was repaired, but there is little occasion for its use, except for official business. The bus lines have changed this situation somewhat, for the bus line officials have more frequent occasion to communicate with Cuernavaca.

[40] The first bus line was established by a man from Cuernavaca but it was soon taken over by Tepoztecans.

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To a lesser degree the election of federal senator and deputies also touches the Tepoztecan population. On these occasions politicians from the capital come to the village to electioneer and to organize sympathizers for their candidates. However, the intervention of the governor of the state is much more direct in these elections, and so Tepoztecans tend to view them as state or regional elections. On the whole, the younger generation participates very little in politics, since this is a matter for the older men.

Some indication of the Tepoztecan sense of belonging to the Mexican nation may be gathered from their reaction to the question of Mexico's participation in World War II. Most Tepoztecans were opposed to Mexican entrance into the war on the side of the democracies. Under the influence of Sinarquist propaganda, sympathy with the Axis powers developed in the village. Rumors began to circulate that Zapata was not really dead but was fighting with Hitler, and that that explained why the Germans were winning so many victories. The latent and widespread anti-U.S.A. sentiment was encouraged by rumors that the Mexicans were being asked to fight to save the gringos. Nevertheless, the Tepoztecans accepted the Mexican declaration of war as one of those decisions of the omnipotent federal government, about which nothing can be done. This Tepoztecan attitude of passivity was typical of the attitude of most Mexicans toward the war.

Since the Revolution the state of Morelos has developed an intense political life that has reached into Tepoztlán. After the thirties, constitutional government was instituted and the governor and local officials were elected, rather than imposed. Political campaigns and electioneering became important; and Tepoztlán, because of its proximity to the state capital, received much attention from prospective candidates. In the attempt to get votes, speakers appealed to state loyalty with such slogans as, "First the Morelenses and then the Mexicans," and made typical demagogic preelection speeches. A good number of Tepoztecans show enthusiasm and interest in state politics, and several hundred men generally turn out to hear the speeches. The election of a new governor always means the possibility of some advantage to the village, or at least to a few Tepoztecans who have actively supported him.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

The Tepoztecan economy is not self-sufficient, and is an integral part of the larger national economy. Tepoztlán exports corn, charcoal, and plums to Mexico City, and in turn imports manufactured goods and some foods. Trading relations involve contacts with individuals in the big city, and occasionally Tepoztecans go directly to Mexico City to make purchases. Since the construction of the road, trade and economic contacts with Mexico City have been much more frequent. The tourist trade has also made for increased contacts with outsiders.

Trade between Tepoztlán and other towns in the state of Morelos develops knowledge of the region and its peoples. Tepoztlán carries on most of its trade with Cuernavaca and Yautepec, but also with smaller towns and villages in the state.

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[p80]

4 economics: general aspect and historical background:

433 THE CONTEMPORARY economy of Tepoztlán is essentially a household economy of small producers, peasants, artisans, and merchants, whose primary motive for production is subsistence. But it is not a self-sufficient economy and probably was not even in pre-Conquest days. The Tepoztecan economy today forms part of the larger national economy of Mexico and, to a more limited degree, of the world [435] economy. The price of corn, the most important local product, is as much determined by international markets as by local conditions of supply and demand. [439] Tepoztlán depends heavily on trade with the outside for basic elements of diet, such as salt, sugar, and chile, which are obtained from nearby regions, and for sewing machines, patent medicines, pool tables, water pipes, steel plows, and buses which are obtained from more distant urban centers. Tepoztlán has few handi- [438] crafts, there is no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Household utensils, cloth, baskets, and many other items are obtained by purchase.

From the point of view of agriculture, the basic source of livelihood, the resources of Tepoztlán are poor indeed. As we have seen, only about fifteen per cent of the total land area of the municipio is cultivable by plow and oxen. Furthermore, there is no irrigation, which means only one harvest a year. The village could not support itself by farming alone. Tepoztecans therefore seek other sources of in- [434] come, and are busy doing a variety of jobs during different parts of the year. Some work on nearby plantations, others engage in trade, make rope, produce charcoal, raise livestock, or have some other part-time activity. But with all of this the fundamental problem for most Tepoztecans is that of subsistence.

The Tepoztecan economy, though that of a peasant society, is neither simple nor primitive. It has many qualities well known to the student of rural society in western civilization. Among the more important are well-developed concepts of private property; a high degree of individualism; a free market; the definition of wealth in terms of land, cattle, and other forms of property; a relatively wide range in wealth differences; the use of money; a highly developed system of marketing and trade, interest on capital, work for wages, pawning of property, renting of land, and the use of plow-oxen; and specialization in part-time occupations.

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wise incapacitated, the husband will seek out the assistance of a female relative or, even though poor, may hire a servant. Occasionally one hears of a widower or bachelor who cooks and sweeps the house, but never of a man who washes or irons or grinds corn to make tortillas.

Women who have no one to support them may hire themselves out as domestic servants, laundresses, or seamstresses, or may become merchants or itinerant peddlers. The only profession which an educated woman can practice in the village is that of schoolteacher. As yet there is no demand for nurses, secretaries, or other skilled female workers. However, the lack of rigidity in the definition of women's occupations is reflected in the fact that on two occasions in the recent past a woman has held the job of secretary of the local government, a post traditionally filled by a man. Women are also members of religious *hermandades* as well as of the school committee. As a rule, however, women play only a minor part in public activities.

The more recent technological improvements represented by the increased use of the sewing machine, the commercial corn mills, the road, and the bus service have affected the work of women rather than men. The sewing machine and the corn mills save women many long hours of work. Previously women spent from four to six hours a day grinding corn by hand, often rising at four in the morning to prepare breakfast. The time now saved is used in various ways, such as getting more sleep, sewing, knitting, going to church, or visiting more often. In many cases the added leisure has been turned toward gainful pursuits, such as gardening, and raising chickens and pigs for sale. Not being so tied to the *metate*, women are able to leave the house more freely and undertake more extensive commercial activities. The improved communication offered by the road and bus has enabled some women to become merchants who go regularly to sell their produce in the Cuernavaca market.

BY AGE

Age is an important but not a rigid determinant in the division of labor. There are no organizations by age groupings in Tepoztlán which carry out assigned tasks. Most skills are learned within the family, beginning at an early age. However, in cases where a skill is learned outside of the family, apprenticeship begins in the late teens. The age at which men vote, begin guard duty, and do public collective labor, as well as enter the army, is determined by local or national law. By custom, men are not eligible for public office nor do they take part in political life until after marriage. Old people continue to work as long as they are physically able, and death is preferred to an incapacitated old age.

Children learn to work slowly and, with few exceptions, the belief that heavy labor will weaken a growing child governs the amount of work parents expect from their offspring. Boys are more carefully guarded in this respect than girls, since their labor in later life is considered harder and more important. At about the time they enter school, about age five, both boys and girls begin to do simple tasks in the house. As they get a little older they are generally glad to run errands

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of the remaining ten consists of comb, shears, and scissors, and the barber usually performs in his yard under a *ciruela* tree. Barbering is still an occasional occupation. Even in the center shops there are no fixed hours, and they are normally open only on Sundays and Wednesdays.

Of the fourteen corn merchants in the village, four buy corn on a large scale; the

Fig. 18. Meat display in the market.

others buy up small quantities which they take to Cuernavaca twice a week. Two factors have been responsible for the increase in corn merchants. Most important was the expansion of the land base by the *ejido* grants and the privilege of using the communal *ilacolol* lands. Twenty years ago there was a greater relative number of landless *peones* than today, and the village had to import large quantities of corn for its own consumption. Today the village sells about 1,000 *cargas* of corn out of a total production of about 14,000 *cargas*.[1] The new needs of the people, the higher standard of living, and the sharp rise in prices in the last few years, demand a larger amount of ready cash than formerly and force many families to sell their corn.

Referring again to Table 19, we see that there has also been an increase in the number of *curanderos, chirimiteros,* and fireworks makers. These are the specialists which Redfield characterized as the *tontos* in contrast to the *correctos,* who were the storekeepers, merchants, etc. Today no such distinction exists in the village.

[1] One *carga* is about 213 pounds.

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423 665 578 separate interest groups, with the *ejidatarios* taking over, for private use, lands which have traditionally been worked by *tlacololeros*. The latter viewed with alarm this encroachment by the *ejido* authorities and formed an organization to defend their interests. This group is known as *comuneros*, in distinction to the *ejidatarios*, and has received official recognition as such by the Departamento Agrario. Each of these groups has become a political faction of weight in the village.

423 311 621 628 In theory any individual from any one of the eight villages of the municipio has the right to use the communal lands anywhere in the municipio, provided he obtains the permission of the municipal authorities, or, as at the present time, the forestry and *ejido* authorities. But in practice each of the eight villages has come to consider certain lands, generally those nearest the village, as its own. Thus, moral boundaries have developed and are today recognized by all concerned. For example, the people of the little village of Santo Domingo jealously guard "their monte" from use by other villagers, but especially from the inhabitants of San Juan, who depend heavily upon woodcutting to earn a living. Similarly, although all *texcal* lands are technically communal property, the villagers of Gabriel Mariaca have prevented Tepoztecans from opening *tlacolol* in "their *texcal*."

[631] In recent years, conflicts over the use of communal lands have set village against village within the municipio and have seriously weakened municipal bonds. The increasing exploitation of communal resources for commercial rather than for subsistence purposes, which was encouraged by the railroad and the highway, made for competition which did not exist before. This led to a demand of the outlying villages for sole rights of control of adjoining communal lands. In effect the villages were demanding that the moral boundaries be accepted as legal boundaries, thereby interpreting the communal lands as village rather than municipio lands.

[631]

423 631 628 578 314 474 [439] [648] One of the first serious difficulties between the villages of the municipio began in the early twenties when the village of San Juan—taking advantage of the proximity of the railroad which ran through the village, and because of its very limited agricultural resources—began to develop the charcoal industry on a commercial scale and to export large quantities of charcoal to Mexico City. In 1926 the villagers of San Juan organized a forestry cooperative to meet the requirements of the national forestry law of the same year. The authorities of Tepoztlán at once challenged the right of the inhabitants of San Juan to exploit municipal resources for the exclusive benefit of a single village. The people of San Juan disregarded the prohibitions of the local authorities and appealed their case directly to the national government. The dispute was bitter and led to some violence. It was finally settled by the intervention of federal authorities, who ruled in favor of the municipio.

In March, 1930, the village of Tepoztlán then organized another cooperative—this time in the name of the municipio and theoretically open to all, but actually controlled by Tepoztecans—and continued to produce charcoal on a large scale. Government files for the next five years are full of complaints from the surrounding villages of the municipio to the effect that the Forestry Cooperative was not truly a municipal organization, but was dominated by the village of Tepoztlán in the in-

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of the oxen were killed during the Revolution; and in the early twenties, mules and donkeys were used and are still used by some of the poorer families. Tepoztecans buy most of their oxen in the nearby state of Guerrero and in the southern part of the state of Morelos. By 1944 there were 179 oxen teams in the village. (See Table 28.)

It can be seen from this table that only 57 per cent of the landowners owned oxen. In general, those barrios which have a higher percentage of larger landholdings show a higher number of families owning plows and oxen. In Tepoztlán it is considered uneconomical for a farmer with only a few hectares to own oxen. Furthermore, the high cost of oxen makes it impossible for most Tepoztecans to own any, and teams may be rented by the day or the season. (See Table 29.)

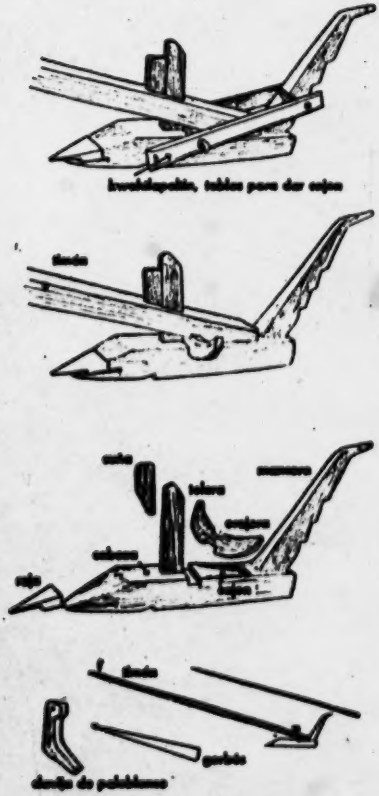

Fig. 24. The wooden plow.

Fig. 25. The steel plow.

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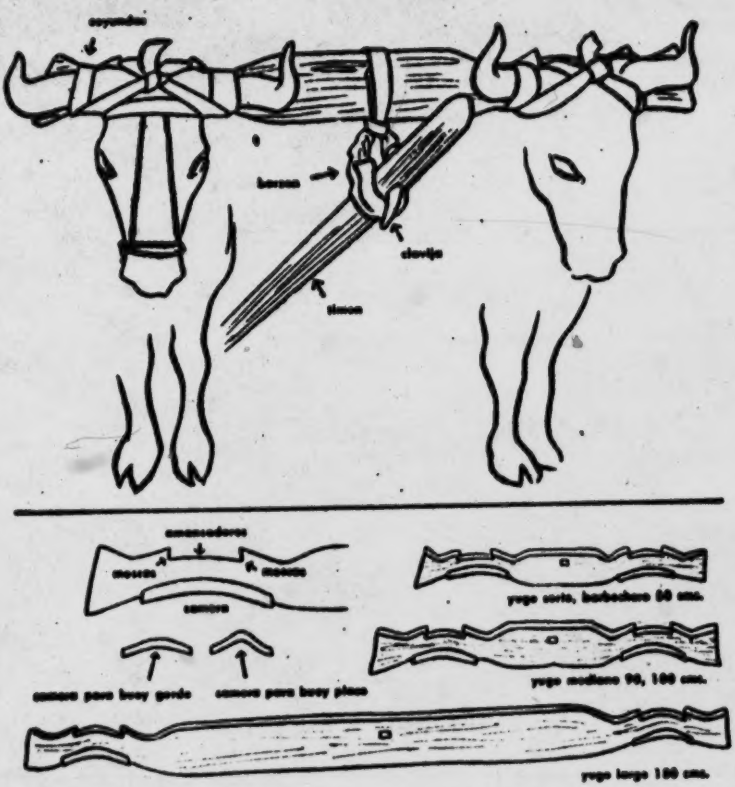

Fig. 26. Oxen and yoke.

435 The cost of oxen quoted in Table 29 refers to that paid in Guerrero. The cost in
434 Tepoztlán was then considerably higher; today there is relatively little local buying and selling of oxen. For a long time, trips to Guerrero were considered dangerous, and the few who made such trips did so at considerable risk—and profit.

427 When oxen are rented for three months, the renter must assume full responsi-
492 bility and agree to give the animals good care. In case they are injured, the renter must pay full damages. A man who rents oxen enjoys the privilege of using them for custom work. From June to August, it is estimated that a team of oxen will work seventy-eight days. The small variation in rental price, when paid in corn, must be considered in the light of changes in corn prices from 1926 to 1944, an increase from twelve centavos per *cuartillo* [8] to sixty centavos.

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804

[8] A *cuartillo* is equal to two liters in Tepoztlán.

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a luxury. The prestige associated with horse ownership goes back to the colonial period when only leading men of the village were allowed to ride a horse.[3]

Ownership of horses, mules, or donkeys is on a small scale; most families have only one animal. The largest number of work animals owned by a single family is six horses and four mules.

Hogs are more widely distributed among the villagers. About forty per cent of the families of Tepoztlán own at least one hog, and many own two or three. The smaller outlay of capital and the lower gains involved in the purchase and sale of hogs limits hog-ownership to the poorer families. It is interesting to note that a very small proportion of the families in the barrio of San Miguel own hogs despite the fact that this barrio has a large proportion of poor families. This may be attributed to the fact that the road runs through this barrio, and the passing buses and automobiles have killed off too many of the hogs to make hog-raising profitable.

Most of the animals used for food are slaughtered in the village. There is practically no trade in cattle or hogs outside of the municipio. There is also relatively little buying and selling of cattle and oxen within the village, since most of them are traditionally purchased in the state of Guerrero where prices are lower. Some men make it a practice to go to Guerrero to buy cattle for resale in Tepoztlán at a nice profit, but this is done on a small scale and only intermittently. Several of the better-to-do farmers became prosperous by doing this during the turbulent years after the Revolution when few dared to leave the village.

It is estimated that a team of oxen work on an average of ninety days a year. Since most families do not own their own oxen, the oxen owners do a good deal of custom work. In 1947 an oxen owner charged 16 pesos per day, that is 4 pesos for the driver and 12 pesos for the team. The income from renting a team of oxen for a ninety-day period would therefore be 1,080 pesos, less about 120 pesos for the cost of feed. When oxen are rented by the season, the charge is generally only 200 pesos, but the renter has the obligation of feeding and caring for the animals and assumes all responsibility in case of accident or death. Plow-oxen are also rented in exchange for corn, generally for six *cargas* of corn, worth about 300 pesos in 1947.

Mules and donkeys are considered to yield an even greater income than plow-oxen, for they can be rented for a greater variety of jobs and for longer periods. Mules are used primarily for transporting charcoal, wood, corn, and beans. The rental for two mules was 14 pesos a day in 1947. The income from a team of mules would therefore be close to 500 pesos over a ninety-day period.

Hogs are bought, fattened, and sold by many families, but the profit is kept low because of the local custom of fattening hogs with good corn, which is expensive. A young pig costs about 30 pesos and after a year of fattening can be sold to a butcher for 225 pesos. The cost of food per day runs to about 50 centavos, or 182½

[3] For documents on this point see *Indios*, Vol. 4, Exp. 398.

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occupation. The informant worked for ten days: three days in felling trees and cutting up the wood, one day in collecting the wood at one spot, one day in making the kiln, four days and nights in watching the kiln, and one day in taking off the dirt and putting the charcoal into sacks. The yield was 18 sacks or 9 *cargas* of charcoal. Each *carga* sold at 13 pesos, yielding 117 pesos. From this sum the informant had to pay 2 pesos a *carga* for transportation to Cuernavaca and 1½ pesos a *carga* for tax, totaling 31½ pesos, leaving him 85½ pesos for ten days' work. Since daily wages in agriculture at the time were about 4½ pesos, the income from charcoal is considered good in Tepoztlán. But charcoal burning is thought of as dirty work, and it ranks very low in prestige, being identified as a last occupational resort of the poor. Nevertheless, some well-to-do families in the outlying barrios spend part of their time in burning charcoal.

Until 1947, most of the charcoal in Tepoztlán was transported by burro to Yautepec. Since that time the bus line has agreed to transport charcoal, so that much of it now goes to Cuernavaca. The price of transport in 1948 was 2 pesos a *carga*. Occasionally a truck from Mexico City or Cuernavaca comes into Tepoztlán to transport charcoal.

CIRUELAS—HOG PLUMS

The *ciruela* is now an important cash crop in Tepoztlán, and according to informants it was introduced into Tepoztlán in 1865. There was little interest until it was discovered that the *ciruela* was pleasant to eat, and more trees were planted.

The *ciruela* can be easily propagated by cuttings. All that is necessary is to prepare a hole some 30 x 30 cms. wide and about 70 cms. deep and to place in it a branch from the mother tree—a branch 2 to 3 meters long and 5 to 10 cms. in diameter. The hole is then filled with soil and tightly packed. Cuttings may be made at any time of the year with good results. The only precaution necessary is to see that the cuttings are not disturbed while they are rooting, lest the young roots be broken. The trees begin producing in from 3 to 4 years, and production increases as the trees grow. Trees grow to a huge size. (See Fig. 32.)

Ciruelas first became a cash crop in Tepoztlán about 1901, or shortly after the railroad was built through the municipio. But transporting the *ciruelas*, by mule to the railroad and then by rail to Mexico City, incurred great expense and delay. Irregular train schedules often caused the fruit to spoil. After the highway was built, merchants from Mexico City and Cuernavaca sent their trucks to Tepoztlán during harvest, and the cash crop value of the *ciruelas*, transported in this way, increased. They are packed in wooden boxes known as *guacales*. Each *guacal* contains about nine gross of *ciruelas*. The price of a *guacal* in October, 1943, was six pesos. It is estimated that Tepoztlán exports about 7,000 *guacales* a year, a total crop value of about 42,000 pesos.

Prices are fixed by merchants from Cuernavaca and Mexico City. The merchants get together and decide among themselves what they will pay per gross for the fruit. Mexico City is the principal market.

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Until a few years ago, ropemaking was done only in response to specific orders from individual buyers, and each producer took great pride in his product. In the last few years, however, some producers have been competing with one another, and profits have been reduced. (See Table 44.)

TABLE 44. Estimated Cost of Production of Rope, 20 Varas Long.

April, 1944	*Pesos*
Cost of 3 lbs. of *ixtle* fiber	3.75
Preparation of fiber	1.00
Cost of twisting	.70
Cost of spinning	1.50
Labor cost in rope twisting	.50
Total production cost	7.45
Sale price of rope	8.00
Profit	.55

Since all the labor is done by members of the family, there would be a daily income of 3.70 pesos plus .55 for profit above cost.

CIRCULATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS

The circulation of goods in Tepoztlán is carried on by means of the local market, stores, itinerant merchants, inter-village trade, the sale and purchase of goods in

Fig. 33. Ropemaking.

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Cuernavaca and other large towns, and the exchange and barter of goods between families in the village. Changes in the means of communication within the last twenty years have made some of these factors more important than others. In general, the effect of the road to Tepoztlán has been to weaken the local market, to increase the importance of stores and trade relations with Cuernavaca, to decrease the extent of inter-village trade within the municipio, and to abolish completely earlier trade relations with other villages of the region.

The market days in Tepoztlán are Wednesday and Sunday. As in Redfield's time, vendors from the satellite villages and from more distant localities gather in the central plaza where they offer their wares. Merchants from Cuernavaca, Toluca, and Mexico City may be seen occasionally. Some come by foot in the old tradition, others by bus, and others with their own cars.

The old tradition, as reported by Redfield, whereby each of the seven villages of the municipio had its customary place in the market, is still remembered and followed. But it is only on a rare occasion that vendors from all the villages are present on the same market day. During the greater part of the year, vendors from only two or three of the villages come. (See Fig. 34.) By comparison with a market in an Oaxacan town of equal size, the Tepoztecan market is indeed

Fig. 34. Woman selling lime.

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443 178 [438] "raquítico," as the Tepoztecans would say. Furthermore, the quality of the local fruits and other goods is poor and, unlike other Mexican villages, little care is given to display. There is also little variety of goods, and it is difficult to predict what will be available from one market day to another. In short, the market at Tepoztlán shows symptoms of decline.

In addition to the market days, there are permanent stores in the plaza. As has been indicated earlier, their number has increased and they have spread to the outlying barrios. The stores sell most of the daily household necessities and have a [438] fairly stable clientele. Most sales are in small quantities because of the Tepoztecan custom of running to the store once or twice a day. But Tepoztecans are going to [439] Cuernavaca more and more, and are making larger purchases; this has been a blow to local tradesmen who cannot compete with the Cuernavaca stores and market.

[438] [452] Itinerant merchants who peddle through the village streets come with a wide variety of goods, such as blankets, *petates*, palm-bottomed chairs, sweets, and clothing. In recent years these merchants have introduced selling on the installment plan, and make collections on their rounds.

[437] [465] Goods are also circulated by barter between families, although this is declining. Corn may be exchanged for eggs or other food. Corn is still used as payment for wages or for the services of *curanderos*, especially when small sums are involved.

439 [432] Most Tepoztecan produce is sold outside the village, primarily in Cuernavaca. It is estimated that Tepoztecans sell approximately 1,000 *cargas* of corn per year. Many poor people complain that they have to go to Cuernavaca to purchase corn because none is available locally. Other Tepoztecan cash crops, charcoal and *ciruelas*, are also sold outside the village; charcoal goes to Yautepec and Cuernavaca, and *ciruelas* go to Cuernavaca and Mexico City.

[669] [177] Before the Revolution, Tepoztecans' trade relations spread over a wide area ranging from southern Jojutla, Guerrero, Ozumba in the Federal District, Puebla, Xochimilco, and Mexico City. Indigo was sold to Puebla, which, in turn, supplied dried fish. Merchants made frequent trips to Mexico City by foot, and the following account from an informant, aged 67, gives some idea of the role of the merchant and middleman in Tepoztlán before the Revolution.

[438] My father was a farmer, a butcher, and a tradesman. He worked his fields and slaughtered pigs which he sold to the neighboring villages of the municipio, but especially in San Andrés and Gabriel Mariaca. Later he would go to the southern part of the state of Morelos to buy up fruit and send it to Mexico City where he would live for a portion of the year to sell the fruit. He would leave Tepoztlán in April or May. He returned here in early June to plant and remained here in June, July, August, and September. At the end of September he returned to Mexico City until November. After All Saints' Day he would return for the harvest.

[484] My father went to Mexico City on foot, and the trip took all day. We would leave the village about 6:00 A.M., arrive at Xochimilco at 5:00 or 5:30 P.M. The route was as follows: first to San Juan, then to a rancho called Oshokiah, in the mountains; from Oshokiah to

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San Pablo Oxtzapec. Here we stopped to have lunch and then continued to San Salvador, then down to San Andrés Agueyuc, then to San Lorenzo, then to Xochimilco. By 5:30 P.M., we were generally at the place in Xochimilco when the canoes left. If there were no canoes we walked all night. We generally arrived in Mexico City the following morning and took our fruit to the market.

Some inter-village trade still occurs at the time of fiestas and village *ferias*. However, Tepoztecan trading contacts seem to have become limited for the most part to Cuernavaca. Yautepec, at one time the key market for much of Tepoztecan produce, has now faded in comparison with the role of Cuernavaca.

The circulation of goods and money in Tepoztlán is generally small, but it varies considerably with the seasonal cycles. It is lowest during the months of May, June, July, and August, which is a period of scarcity. The most rapid circulation of goods and the greatest volume of money transactions occur after the plum harvest in September and October, and again after the corn and bean harvest in December and January. Money from plums is generally used to buy new clothing for the family.

Perhaps the most important single occasion for spending during the year is at the Carnaval, which comes in February after the harvest. I have estimated that approximately 50,000 pesos are spent by the villagers for the Carnaval. It is an occasion for buying new clothes, but the largest expense is for the elaborate costumes of the Chinelo dancers. A costume in 1947 cost as much as 800 pesos, and there were 45 dancers from the three competing barrios. Of course most of the costumes are used from year to year, but there is always the expense of repairing and improving them. Some people rent the costumes. The food expense is also great; musicians from each of the competing barrios are fed by the leading families in the barrio. In addition, most families entertain on this day.

The tourist trade has brought some income to Tepoztlán, especially to storekeepers, vendors of soft drinks, and the owners of the two tourist houses, but most of the money spent by these Tepoztecans goes to Cuernavaca.

The other important occasions for spending in Tepoztlán are the barrio fiestas, the gifts for *compadres* at baptisms, the expenses of the groom in weddings, and the expenses for the wakes and funerals.

There are a few corn merchants in the village who speculate in corn by buying in small quantities throughout the year to sell at higher prices during June to September. Speculation in corn is apparently an old practice in the village, for as early as 1579 we find complaints of Tepoztecans against price fixing by local politicians. Some of the corn merchants will make loans on the future corn crop and will be paid back in corn at the time of harvest.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

There are no organized credit facilities in Tepoztlán. Although a few hundred Tepoztecans have had *ejido* parcels since 1930, no *ejido* credit has come to the village. It is said that an effort had been made at one time to obtain such credit but

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provide food elements which the Tepoztecan diet would otherwise lack, since there is little cultivation of leafy green vegetables. But it is impossible to determine to what extent wild greens are consumed, because they are considered very poor fare, and Tepoztecans do not readily admit eating them. During times of scarcity a large number of families eat wild greens in quantity several times a week, and the chronically poor eat them regularly throughout the year. During the Revolution many families escaped starvation by subsisting almost entirely on wild plants. The names of most of these plants are native Indian terms, and are as follows:

quintoniles	*papalo*
verdolaga	*chipiles*
tesquite	*tequesquite*
pipisacos	*quelites*

Violets boiled with *tequesquite* are also eaten. The herbs are well-known spices, and medicinal grasses or leaves are used to make a variety of teas.

Additional fruits and vegetables are brought in by traveling merchants or are purchased in the large market in Cuernavaca. However, most of these are expensive and only the few well-to-do families of Tepoztlán can afford to purchase them more or less regularly. Foods not locally produced and commonly purchased in the stores of Tepoztlán, Yautepec, Cuernavaca, or Mexico City are bread,[1] sugar, salt, rice, certain types of chile and beans, noodles, and dried codfish. Chocolate is also purchased but is considered a luxury. Foods which are slowly becoming more popular but which are still purchased by a small minority are evaporated and powdered milk, canned sardines, tomato herring, or other fish.

The eating of white bread made of wheat flour is of particular interest in Mexico, since it is a relatively new trait and one which has been taken to indicate the degree of acculturation of individuals and groups. In Tepoztlán, bread is considered a very desirable food; and often the social and economic status of a family is judged in terms of the amount of bread that it consumes. From the Mexican Census of 1940, which included a question designed to estimate the number of persons who eat bread fairly regularly, we learned that over 31 per cent of the population of Tepoztlán eat bread. At present there is scarcely a family that does not eat some bread during the week or month, though it may be but once or twice. It is especially favored as a food for very small children, and even the poorest family seeks to provide a piece of bread daily for its youngest child. There is no indication, however, that bread will eventually displace the tortilla; at most, bread consumption among well-to-do families may represent about 10 per cent of the total food expenditure.

There is, of course, much variation in the actual consumption of food. Except among the wealthier families, irregularity in diet is characteristic throughout the year, and few families maintain a uniformly good diet from day to day even according to local standards. The type and quantity of food consumed is determined by the season, the fiesta calendar, and, most of all, the amount of cash on hand. "When

[1] Bread is baked locally, but wheat flour is purchased outside.

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No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are known to be *muy fiesteras* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages, whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecans also frequent the fairs of Chalma, Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but others go purely for diversion.

The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional dances and *kermeses*, at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people, but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised. The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because of local criticism and gossip.

Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas*, and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuernavaca to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of the more citified girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are all but gone and the *juripeo* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom indulged in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons working as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-

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More and more women are undertaking to contribute to the support of their families, even when the husband is a relatively good provider. Women traditionally raise a few chickens and pigs, and some now grow fruit trees, to earn money. Men recognize this type of activity as necessary. Some poor men blame their inability to get ahead on the fact that their wives are inept at earning or saving money, or that their wives refuse to raise chickens and pigs because they dirty up the patio and are too much trouble. One attitude, sometimes expressed among married women, is, "Why should I work? That is what I have a husband and sons for." However, many wives try to earn enough so as not to depend upon their husbands entirely for food and clothing, because "the men are too miserly to spend much on these things." The more capable women are able to earn enough to aid their husbands substantially. Without exception, every man who has been able to improve his economic situation since the Revolution has done so with the help of his wife, and in all the more prosperous homes the wives are known to be unusually capable and industrious.

Several fairly recent social and economic changes which have occurred in the village have affected the roles of women. Women have been more affected than men by such technological changes as the building of the road, the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, and the introduction of the corn mills. These changes have also affected the relations between husbands and wives. Women began to patronize the corn mills over the objections of their husbands, and the success of the mills was described by a male informant as the result of "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men." The corn mills have given women from four to six additional hours a day to devote to other activities. Since women are not so tied to the *metate* now, they are able to leave the house more freely and can undertake more extensive business activities.

An increasing number of more ambitious married women are now raising animals or growing fruit on a larger scale or are devoting more time to selling the family produce at the Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca markets. However, husbands tend to balk at the latter activity and do not easily give their wives permission to go to Cuernavaca, despite the fact that the extra earnings would be welcome. This type of work has, in the past, been carried on exclusively by widows or older unmarried women who "had no man to control them." Many of these women are known for their promiscuity, and they and their occupation have little status. In addition, men tend to associate going to Cuernavaca with going to meet a lover and do not permit their wives to go alone. Husbands also fear that people will say they can no longer support or control their wives if they go out to work. The fear of giving the wife more freedom, as well as the recognition of the threat to the man in his role as provider, outweighs the obvious economic advantages, and most men prevent their wives from earning as much as they might.

Another factor which has affected husband-wife relations is the increased independence of young couples, who now seek to set up separate households soon after marriage. In the past, when wives often lived for many years with their mothers-in

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They are made of heavy satin and velvet and trimmings of glass beads, tiny mirrors, sequins, and gold fringe. Some men go to distant cities to purchase the finest materials. The huge hats are also more elaborate, and many are lighted by electric light bulbs placed in the brim and worked by concealed batteries. The cost of a complete *chinelo* outfit was between 100 and 300 pesos in 1944. By 1947, the cost had risen to over 600 pesos. An interesting aspect of the Carnaval is that the masked participants frequently ridicule and caricature popular figures in the village, much to their discomfiture.

Fiesta of Ash Wednesday, celebrated in the parish church: Initiates Lent and brings with it obligations to fast, pray, light candles at the altar, pay *limosnas*, etc. Most Tepoztecans go to church to "take the ash." They believe that the cross made on their foreheads by the priest protects them against sorcery and evil acts of enemies. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the ashes used are those from the burning of old images of holy figures. It is customary for Tepoztecans to bring old images to the sexton to be burned. When Lent begins, the images in the central church and in the chapels are ceremonially covered with purple cloths by men who have inherited the honor from their fathers.

Fiesta of First Friday of Lent, celebrated in Chalma and Jiutepec: Two *mayordomos* in Tepoztlán organize pilgrimages to these holy centers. Each *mayordomo* has a banner with images of the Santo Señor de Chalma and the Santo Cristo of Jiutepec. The pilgrimage to Chalma includes the *pastores*, children who will sing to the image. The group going to Jiutepec includes dancers.

Fiesta of Second Friday of Lent, celebrated in Cuautla: Only a few Tepoztecans attend this fiesta.

Fiesta of Third Friday of Lent, celebrated in Tepalzingo: Because of the fair held at Tepalzingo, many Tepoztecans go, particularly those who wish to buy or sell. *Curanderos* go to purchase herbs from other localities and to sell Tepoztecan herbs; the ropemakers of San Sebastián go to sell ropes. Local merchants go to buy *rebozos*, painted gourds, and curiosities.

Fiesta of Fourth Friday of Lent, celebrated in Tlayacapan: In homage of the *Virgen del Tránsito*. According to Tepoztecan legend, this image once belonged to Tepoztlán, but in 1770 it was taken to Tlayacapan to be repainted. On the way back the men who carried it became tired and set it down. When they were ready to go on they found the image had become too heavy to lift. This was interpreted to mean that the image wished a temple to be built for her there, and that is why she remained in Tlayacapan. It is believed that the image promised Tepoztlán water so long as Tepoztecans made pilgrimages to Tlayacapan. Thus, it is the custom of many Tepoztecan families to attend this fiesta

Fiesta of the Sunday after Fourth Friday of Lent, celebrated in Ocotitlán: Only those with *compadres* or friends in Ocotitlán attend this fiesta.

Fiesta of Fifth Friday of Lent, celebrated in Mazatepec and Totolapan: Both towns have important fairs on this occasion. Pilgrimages to Totolapan are organized by the *mayordomía* of Gabriel Mariaca, and to Mazatepec by the *mayordomía* of the barrio of Santa Cruz. Those who go generally take many flowers to sell, especially the *yoloxochitl* (heart flower), and buy in return *petates*, *rebozos*, dried squash gourds, tamarind, and several types of dried seed.

March 19. *Fiesta of San José*, celebrated in Santa Cruz: The large image of San José is housed in the barrio chapel along with other saints. Since the devotees of this image have been steadily increasing, there is talk of building a separate chapel for the image.

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May 8. ***Fiesta of San Miguel,*** **celebrated in San Miguel: This is one of the two annual fiestas of this barrio. As one of the larger barrios, it spends huge sums to have an impressive fiesta.** 796

The following Thursday. ***Fiesta of Thursday of the Ascensión,*** **celebrated in the parish church: This is a movable fiesta, which comes seven weeks after Holy Thursday. Mass is said in the large church, and fireworks are set off. The peasants must rest this day.** [461]

Ten days later. ***Fiesta of Tlanepantla,*** **celebrated in Tlanepantla: A favorite fiesta of Tepoztecans, who carry *aguacate, cuajilote,* and *sapote blanco* for sale.** [439]

All of June is dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

About June 12. ***Fiesta of La Santísima,*** **celebrated in La Santísima: La Santísima, traditional rival of Santo Domingo, organizes an impressive fiesta, with the usual playing of the *chirimía,* and the eating of *mole* and tamales.**

June 24. ***Fiesta of Day of San Juan,*** **celebrated in San Juan: Boys and girls sing *mañanitas* to the image of San Juan at dawn. Then they visit houses where persons named Juan or Juanita live, and they sing *mañanitas.* In the afternoon, the young people go out to the fields to seek four-leaf clovers for luck.** [533] [777]

June 29. ***Fiesta of San Pedro,*** **celebrated in San Pedro: Similar to other fiestas.**

July 16. ***Fiesta of Day of Virgin of Carmen,*** **celebrated in the parish church: All who wear the scapulary of this virgin must attend Mass.**

July 22. ***Fiesta of Amatlán,*** **celebrated in Amatlán: Generally only about fifty Tepoztecans attend.** [484]

July 25. ***Fiesta of Santiago,*** **celebrated in Santiago: During our visit about 150 persons from Tepoztlán attended.**

Aug. 4. ***Fiesta of Santo Domingo,*** **celebrated in Santo Domingo: An important fiesta which lasts three days. A band is hired in Mexico City for greater prestige. There are *toros,* cockfights, dancers, and fireworks.** [533] [541]

Aug. 6. ***Fiesta of San Salvador,*** **celebrated in Santa Cruz and Ixcatepec: Follows the usual patterns of barrio fiestas.**

Aug. 15. ***Fiesta of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary,*** **celebrated in Tejalpa.**

Sept. 8. ***Fiesta of the Virgin of the Natividad,*** **patron of Tepoztlán: This is one of the most important village-wide fiestas, combining pre-Hispanic and Catholic elements. The Catholic ceremony in honor of the Virgin takes place in the church; the honor to El Tepozteco takes place out of doors. A dance to El Tepozteco is held to the accompaniment of the ancient *teponaztle* and a traditional discourse of El Tepozteco in Náhuatl is spoken.** [776] [527]

Sept. 28. ***Day of the Blessing of the Pericón,*** **celebrated in the parish church and cornfields: This is an outing day for Tepoztecans who go out into the cornfields to rosin fresh corn and place crosses of blessed *pericón* at the four corners of the milpas. Similar crosses are also placed in the homes, for it is believed that on this night the demons are loose and the evil winds blow hard.** [527] [778] [776]

Sept. 29. ***Fiesta of Barrio of San Miguel,*** **celebrated in San Miguel: Follows the tradition of other barrio fiestas.**

Oct. 31. ***All Saints' Day (Children),*** **celebrated in the parish church, in the homes, and at the cemetery: Day in commemoration of dead children. A candle is lighted for the dead child, and incense is burned.[5]** [769] [782]

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[5] See Redfield, *Tepoztlán,* for more detailed description.